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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this paper are to explore the nature and possible causes of the downward rates in the number of women superintendents, principals, professors, and college presidents; to identify some recent developments that might have impact on reversing these trends; and to suggest some courses of action for those who favor more active participation of women in education leadership in the future. Part 1 is focused on some long-range trends related to individuals' decisions to embark on careers in the field of education. Part 2 is an exploration of some long-range trends related to the various stages of a career in education. Part 3 concerns some more recent trends and their possible impact on careers in education. Part 4, the concluding section, contains speculations about trend projections into the future as well as some recommendations for action. (Author/IRT)

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Trends in Education

Women in Educational Leadership: A Trend Discussion

by

Paula F. Silver

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Introduction

To those who have sought and worked for the equalization of opportunities for women in the field of education, the statistics during the past few decades are indeed disheartening. There are fewer women superintendents today than there were ten years ago, fewer women principals, fewer women professors, and fewer women college presidents. As depicted in Figure I, there are fewer women in educational leadership positions today than there were ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago.

The purposes of this paper are to explore the nature and possible causes of these downward trends, to identify some recent developments that might have impact on reversing these trends, and to suggest some courses of action for those who favor more active participation of women in educational leadership in the future. Part I is focused upon some long-range trends related to individuals' decisions to embark on careers in the field of education; part II is an exploration of some long-range trends related to the various stages of a career in education. Part III concerns some more recent trends and their possible impact upon careers in education. Part IV, the concluding section, contains speculations about trend projections into the future as well as some recommendations for action.

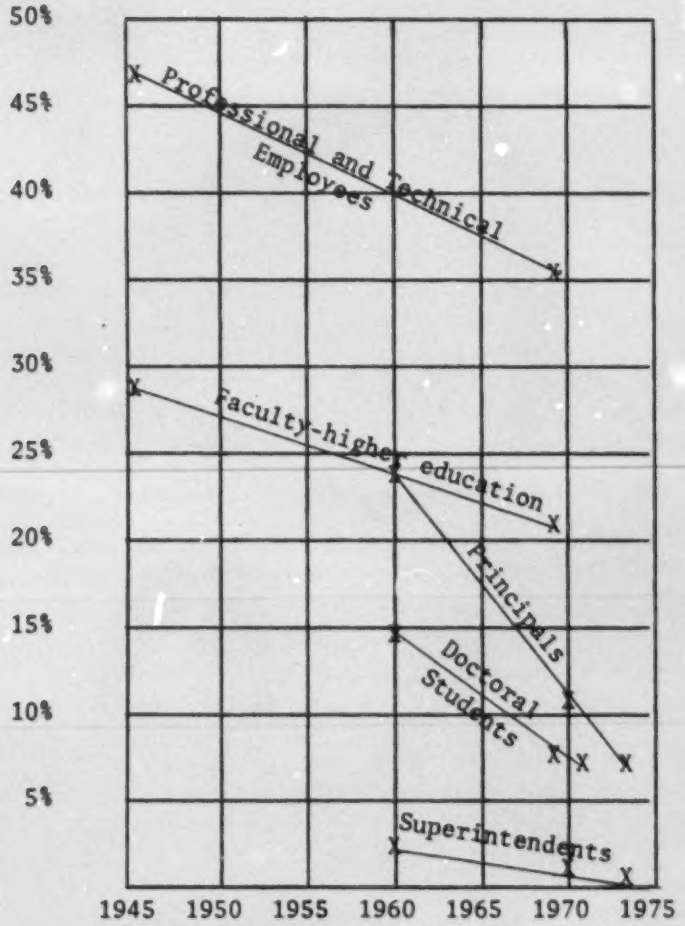
Part I. The Decision to Become a Teacher

The primary focus of this paper is upon the participation of women in educational leadership. However, prior concerns must necessarily be the participation of women in education generally and the range of social forces which influence one's decision to become an educator. The purposes of Part I are to explore the context of young people's decisions to become teachers and to identify some of the formative factors which may have impact throughout a career in education.

The early childhood years have tremendous impact on later adult behavior, as few would contest. The family, the local neighborhood, the mass media, the society at large with its massive economic and political vacillations, and the school itself where so many childhood hours are spent all exert their special influence on the career decisions young adults make.

Figure I

Women as a Per Cent of Totals*



*This diagram represents estimates based on figures from the U.S. Department of Labor (1971), Clement (1973), Knezevich (1975), NCAWE (1965), and NEA (1971 and 1973).

X indicates reported figures

Within the family numerous factors have been shown to relate to differences between boys and girls in personality and performance, differences which have been shown to relate directly to career choices. And there are apparent trends from which increasing differentiation can be inferred. Research indicates, for example, that the relative economic status of the parents relates significantly to career choices of girls: Blood (1965) found that girls with working mothers are more likely to work during and after school years than daughters of non-working women. The more the mother earns and the higher her

professional status, Blood found, the more likely the daughter is to pursue a career. Iglitzin (1972) reported findings that children with working mothers had more liberalized views on roles of men and women in society than had children of non-working mothers.

There appears to be a power shift in families with working wives. Working wives tend to be more vocal and articulate with their husbands, more self-respecting, and more equal in power in proportion to the percentage of total family income they contribute (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Blood (1965) found daughters of working women to be more aggressive, self-reliant, dominant, and independent than daughters of non-working mothers, characteristics which would be highly desirable for leadership positions.[1]

Not many daughters, however, have this advantage. According to the most recent Department of Labor figures cited by Bird (1971), 40% of all women of working age had no independent income in 1969-70. Of the remaining 60%, income sources included investments, welfare payments, and alimony as well as earnings. Thus, we can assume that many more than 50% of mothers with pre-school children do not work. The median income for full-time working women was $1,638, as compared to the $5,306 median income for men, 92% of whom worked. According to the U. S. Department of Labor (1971), the trends have been toward steadily decreasing representation of women in the professions, increasing representation of women in menial or service positions, and an ever-broadening discrepancy between earnings of women and earnings of men. Thus, children are more likely now than they were 20 years ago to have non-working or poorly paid mothers.

Not only in the home, but in the neighborhood, on television, and in the printed media, a consistent image is projected—that women are housewives, that they are passive, unambitious, supportive, and appreciative whereas men are daring, venturesome, active, and intelligent. Levy and Stacey (1971), for example, pointed out that "Sesame Street," the lighthouse children's television show, continues to underrepresent women, with only three females to every seven males, and to depict women in either stereotypic or ludicrous roles. Prime time network television programming does not feature any women in competent assertive, independent professional roles, and the advertisements continue to depict women as even more inane than men.

Bart (1974) noted that children absorb values from juvenile books and adopt role models from those books, which were found to be highly traditional in orientation. She cited a study by Weitzman et al. in which a prize-winning series of children's books was found to contain not one woman with a job or profession. Hall (1973) reported a study conducted by the National Organization of Women in which 2,500 children's stories were surveyed. Boys were found to be major characters in five out of seven stories and in six out of seven biographies; in two recent books on careers, little girls were found to be depicted as nurses and secretaries whereas boys were shown as doctors and astronauts (p. 137).

Given the consistent images projected on television, in books, and in the press, one ought not be surprised that, as Levy and Stacey (1973) reported, boys perceive women as "indecisive, afraid of many things, tired a lot, staying home most of the time, squeamish, and not very intelligent (p. 17)."

Women have internalized this image, as several studies have indicated. For example, Freeman (1971) cited a study by Bennett and Cohen indicating that women perceive themselves to be "uncertain, anxious, nervous, hasty, careless," as well as "understanding, tender, sympathetic, pure, generous, affectionate, loving, moral, kind, grateful, and patient (p. 124)." She also cited McClelland's findings that the socially prevalent image of females, according to a semantic differential technique, is "small, weak, soft, and light" as well as "dull, peaceful, relaxed, cold, rounded, passive and slow (p. 124)." Bardwick (1973) characterized women as dependent, passive, cautious, crippled by low self-esteem, and low autonomy, fearful of competition, and fearful of success (p. 32); "these traits are precisely those," she pointed out, "that make radical role change difficult, if not impossible, for many women (p. 32)."

The economy as a whole enhances and reinforces this image in terms of both the labor market and the consumption orientation of our society. The greatly increased unemployment rates of recent years, for example, have been shown to have greatest impact on women. According to the U. S. Department of Labor (1971, p. 1), "unemployment rates of women have been consistently higher than those of men during the last decade and were 4.7 and 2.8 per cent, respectively, in 1969."[2]

As Galbraith (1974) and others have pointed out, business interests have much to gain by fostering consumerism rather than productivity among women and by retaining the flexible, low-income labor pool that women comprise. He asserted that there is an unspoken conspiracy among economists to conceal the exploitation of women from public awareness, for "what is now seen as a moral compulsion—the diligent and intelligent administration of the family consumption—is, in fact, a service to the economic interest (p. 112)." With regard to the desirability of college education for women, he stated, "A high family income sets the consumption patterns to which others aspire. That such families be supplied with intelligent, well-educated women capable of exceptional managerial competence is important not only for the consumption involved, but also for its demonstration effect for the whole economy (p. 76)."

Galbraith, as well as Salzman-Webb (1971), cited the importance of the consumption function of women for corporate expansion. As Salzman-Webb stated, "It's a very pretty system that saps our human potential and adds to the gross national product (p. 16)." Benston (1971) noted that "Women function as a massive reserve army of labor. When labor is scarce, then women form an important part of the labor force. When there is less demand for labor. . . women become a surplus labor force—but one for which their husbands and not society are economically responsible (p. 200)." Housewives, she continued, are a vast and exploited labor pool that serves as a "hidden tax" on the wage earner, whose wage covers the labor of two people. As the economy becomes more constrained, therefore, and as we move toward a no-growth economy, the economic forces that created the current status of women seem likely to intensify and to perpetuate the subordinacy of women.[3]

The school, too, as many scholars have noted, acts as a powerful socializing force on children. There, the sex role differentiations of society as large are taught and reinforced by means of the

"hidden curriculum (Barrett, 1974)" which pervades all the subject matter and the total school environment. The text books in all subjects consistently under-represent females or depict them in passive and subordinate roles.[4] The teachers differentiate in their treatments of boys and girls.[5] Guidance counselors direct children toward sex-differentiated career goals and aspirations[6] while programmers track boys and girls into sex-segregated classes.[7]

Perhaps most subtle and convincing of all elements of the "hidden curriculum" is the social structure of the school itself, where the overwhelming majority of superordinates (principals, department heads, superintendents) are men while the subordinates (teachers, clerical workers) are women. Clement (1973) noted the decline of women secondary school teachers from about 68% of the total in the 1920's to 46% in 1966 and the decrease in women principals by 16% during the 1958-1968 decade, adding that an important outcome of her study was a "growing awareness of the magnitude of the social change, the upheavals in traditional living arrangements... that would be required to alter substantively this statistic (p. ii)." In the short period from 1971 to 1973, furthermore, the already small proportion of women in administrative or supervisory positions dropped precipitously. According to the National Education Association (1971, 1973), the proportion of principals who are women decreased from 15.3% to 13.5%; women superintendents decreased from .6% to .1%; and the percentage of female assistant principals decreased from 15% to 12.5%. This trend is likely to accelerate as more men enter teaching and move quickly to the available administrative and supervisory positions, as tightening school district budgets force superintendents to reduce the size of administrative staffs, as districts consolidate into larger units so that elementary districts disappear, and as declining enrollments cause the closing of many elementary schools.

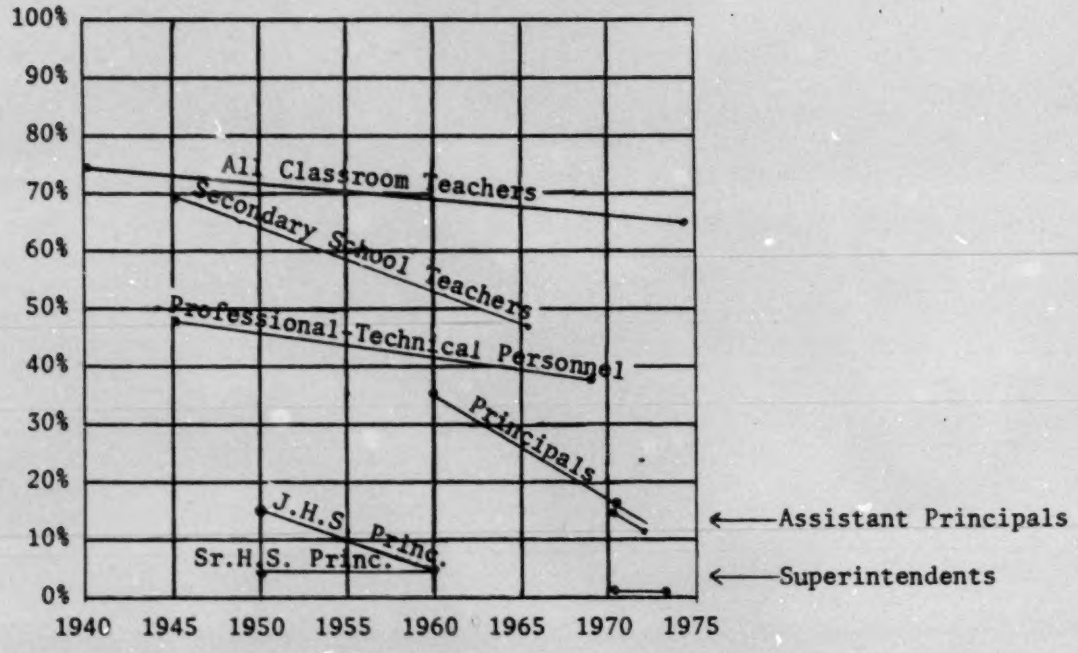
The school may be regarded as the first agent of socialization into the education profession, for it is there that youngsters experience for the first time the social structure of the education system. For girls who expect to go to college and to pursue careers, then, teaching might appear to be a strong career possibility, whereas administration would not appear to be a likely option. For boys, teaching might appear to be one possibility among many other possibilities, and movement up to administrative ranks would also appear to be a strong career possibility.

In summary, the school setting, in terms of its total "hidden curriculum," merges with many other social forces in the family, the culture, and the national economy to influence the decision to become a teacher. Most girls will choose not to work. Of those who choose to work, most will opt for relatively menial positions for which no specialized training is required. Of the small remaining segment who elect to go to college and train for careers (a decreasing number in proportion to males who go to college[8]) a substantial majority will select teaching or nursing as a career.[9] In fact, as Salzman-Webb (1971) reported, 42 per cent of all professional women were teachers (except college) in 1965, and 70 per cent of those teachers taught in elementary schools. "Since then,"

she noted, "secondary schools and junior high schools have become even more the domain of men (p. 13)." Figure 2 is a summary of the trends that have been cited in this section.

Figure 2

Trends Related to the Decision to Enter the Field of Education: Women as a Per Cent of the Total*



*Figures are approximations of those drawn from Clement (1973), National Education Association (1971, 1973a), U. S. Department of Labor (1971), and Howard (1975).

Part II. A Career in Education: Some Long-Range Trends

In order better to understand the decrease in numbers of women in leadership positions in education, it is helpful to examine the stages of a career in education and the factors influencing women at each stage. Such an analysis reveals that not only at the top of the profession, but at every prior stage as well, the numbers of women have been decreasing over a long period of time. Social forces have been affecting the participation of women in all phases of education, apparently so consistently that the declining numbers of women at the apex of the profession is, upon analysis, scarcely surprising.

Before proceeding to a review of a prototypic career in education, it should be noted here that for purposes of this paper the term leadership refers to a position of influence at or near the top of an organizational hierarchy. Whereas individuals frequently have influence over friends, colleagues and clients, and might therefore be considered to be leaders, in the present context leaders will be regarded as those individuals who have influence by virtue of status, authority, expertise, power, and/or control of resources in organizations. Thus, in the field of education leaders would be superintendents of schools in major districts, state or federal agency directors, presidents of colleges and universities, executive directors of national organizations or foundations, and presidents of education-oriented corporations.

This diversity of types of positions in which leadership can be expressed indicates that there is no single career ladder to the top. Individuals differ greatly in their particular choices, moves, and career patterns. However, for purposes of analysis a "typical" leader's career in education can be outlined. Such a career progression, in prototype, would have five stages as follows:

1. The teacher training period, the second major phase of socialization into the profession, would be the college years--the general college environment, the education courses, and the student teaching experience.
2. Teaching itself, especially for the first few years, would comprise the second stage of a career, that during which the "upward mobile" individuals are sorted from those who will remain at the teaching level.
3. Graduate training represents a preliminary socialization stage for leadership positions and a juncture at which some people elect a career in higher education while others return to school districts at a supervisory level.
4. Entry level as a professor, a supervisor, or an administrator represents the next stage, that of the actual practice of leadership.
5. Success and promotion to successively higher echelons can take from a few years to a decade or more and are contingent on numerous interacting factors.

1. The Teacher Training Period

The college years comprise a significant stage in the evolution of a career, for it is during that period that career choices take substantive form, that peer groups exert great pressure and that pre-service training actually begins.

In the college and university setting, it should be noted, the social structure of the institution again supports and reinforces the "hidden curriculum" of male dominance with increasing regularity: men are the higher-level professors, supervisors, and administrators while women are the instructors, the secretaries, and the clerical staff. According to available figures, whereas women represent 22 per cent of college and university faculties

(U. S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 11), 4-9 per cent of professors (Dinerman, 1971; Bird, 1971), 15 per cent of deans (Cyphert and Zimpher, 1976) and 8 per cent of college presidents (Dinerman, 1971), they represent about 99 per cent of clerical employees.[10] Dinerman (1971) noted, too, that within the "Big Ten" universities only 10 per cent of faculty members are women.

Added to this relatively subtle influence is the more overt influence of peer group pressures. College years are still, it seems, the years for dating and proms, for sororities and fraternities, for formulating an image of oneself as an adult. For young women, these are the years of preparing for marriage, as about 85 per cent of college women expect or hope to marry before graduation (Bardwick, 1973; Galbraith, 1974). For many college women, these are also years for suppressing success drives, as inherently ambitious women divert their energies into traditional channels for fear that their success will make them unpopular with men (Horner, 1971).

Rap sessions, gab fests, and group life are as much a part of the college education as course lectures and text books, and it is in these informal situations that the social pressures toward popularity and toward consumerism are most influential. As noted earlier, women have traditionally been trained to be more subdued, more pleasing, more appreciative, and more dependent than men. They can be presumed to be especially vulnerable to peer influences at this stage of uncertainty, self doubt, and experimentation.

Galbraith (1974) pointed out that the formal curriculum as well as the informal social structure, in economics, home economics and other subject areas, serves to benefit the existing power structure by reinforcing the prevailing norms and training women for consumerism.

At some time before or during college, 43 per cent of the college women students decide to major in education (Salzman-Webb, 1971); and, since training for secondary school teaching frequently does not require a major in education, it can be deduced that a far greater percentage of college women students prepare for teaching careers. Within the teacher training sequence, courses are notoriously undemanding, traditional in orientation, and lacking in a genuine discipline base. Most often the traditional educational values are taught and reinforced--that teachers should love children, as women are expected to do; that teaching requires dedication, service and patience, qualities women are expected to possess; that children should be helped to "adjust" and be "good," for deviance is often equated with unhappiness."

Teacher training sequences typically include some "educational psychology," some "education sociology" (more often called "school and community" or the like), and some "philosophy of education" as well as some methodology, observing in schools, and practice teaching. The educational psychology, sociology and philosophy courses ought not to be confused with the disciplines to which they refer, for education students are generally only "exposed to" an overview of those fields; there is little rigor implied, in terms of theoretical foundations, empirical knowledge or research. Two

significant elements are generally missing from or underemphasized in teacher education programs: 1) training concerning the entire career ladder in education, with emphasis on how to climb to the top, how to manipulate the system so as to bring about change, and how the political-economic system of governance in education functions; 2) training focused upon the scientific knowledge base, to the extent there is one, within the field of education, including training in the scientific processes, familiarity with the most recent data, and an expectation that knowledge, rather than intuition, should guide practice. The absence of instruction about the governance structure of education reinforces women's expectations that teaching will be a terminal career position. An absence of scientific rigor reinforces the insecurity and vulnerability already prevalent among women; it leaves to others, to male supervisors, the power to judge effectiveness by informal and unsubstantiated criteria and it leaves teachers in doubt as to their own professional competence.

The college environment, in sum, serves to discourage women from rising to leadership positions in education by means of the male-dominant social structure within the institutions, peer group pressures toward conformity, and the content or lack thereof in education training sequences.

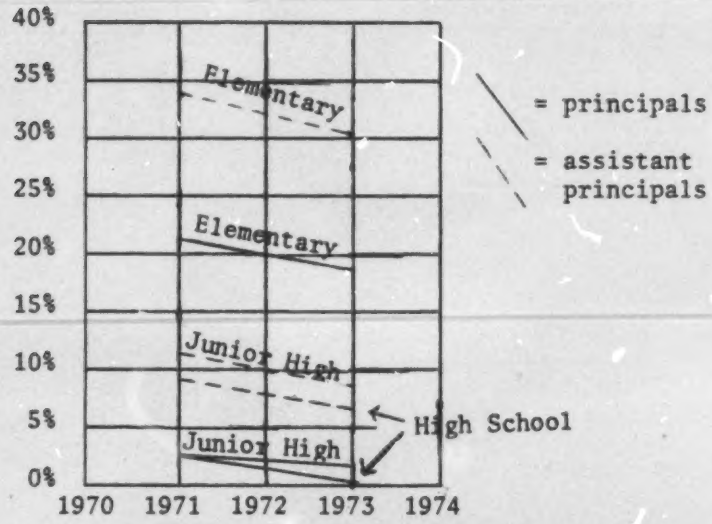
2. The Teaching Experience

Numerous factors within the school setting, some of them cited earlier, have impact upon teachers' career choices. Factors which influence some individuals to seek higher level supervisory and administrative positions while others opt to remain in the classroom include the social structure of the school itself, the encouragement that superordinates selectively provide, and traditions existing in the school's environment.

Within the school and school system, as noted earlier, the supervisory positions are overwhelmingly and increasingly held by men. Of elementary school principals, for example, the proportion of women dropped from 21% in 1971 to 19.6% in 1973; in junior high schools, the number of women principals decreased from 3.5% to 2.9% during the same period; and in senior high schools the percentage of women principals decreased from 3% to 1.4%. Among assistant principals, representation of women follows a similar decreasing pattern: from 33.8% to 30.8% in elementary schools; from 11.1% to 7.6% in junior high schools; and from 8.9% to 6.4% in senior high schools (National Education Association, 1971 and 1973). These existing social structures, with so few women in supervisory positions, are powerful deterrents to upward mobility for women teachers, for, as research indicates, they create and substantiate a belief that women do not really stand a chance for promotion. Nixon (1975), in a study of Canadian women teachers and administrators, found that "the majority of participants in all groups believed opportunities for advancement of women teachers to be restricted (p. 1)." Similar findings regarding teachers' beliefs and aspirations were reported by the National Council for Administrative Women in Education (1965, p. 20-21).

Figure 3

Trends in School Building Level Administration:
Women as a Per Cent of the Total*



*Figures are approximations of those drawn from the National Education Association (1971, 1973a).

Many women teachers who might otherwise seek advancement divert their energies and ambitions into creative teaching and voluntary labor during and after school hours, as can be deduced from income data. The National Education Association (1971, p. 5) reported the following discrepancies between men and women: 62.2% of men earned extra money for summer work while 24.9% of women did; 52.6% of men had extra earnings during the school year whereas 13.3% of women did; 22.2% of men had additional non-salary income whereas 16.6% of women did. In terms of mean annual contract salary, men earned $9,854 whereas women earned $8,953, a gap of $901 that represents an increased discrepancy of $269 per year over the discrepancy five years previously.

Many of the teachers who do seek ultimately to join the administrative ranks devote time and energy to "Gaining the Attention of Superiors" (GASing) by doing extra supervisory tasks about the school (Griffiths et al., 1964). Organizing assemblies, coordinating dances or sports events, or coaching a team would be examples of such "GASing" activities. These functions often serve as entry to the informal social structure of the supervisory group, since they provide opportunities for peer-like interaction with administrators. Hence, it is here, through the "old boy network" that the potential administrators are most often differentiated

from the rank and file. If the principal has the opportunity to observe leadership ability, and if she feels affinity and rapport with the potential leader, she can do much to encourage that teacher to climb the career ladder and can facilitate the way. The principal can, for example, provide additional leadership opportunities, many for extra pay or for out-of-classroom compensatory time, provide the released time and recommendations that facilitate advanced training, and even provide secretarial help for the typing of term papers. Needless to say, male principals, as there are in increasing proportions, are likely to feel that affinity for and offer that encouragement to men rather than women.

Of the many social forces affecting school careers, perhaps the most significant is this rapport that male principals sense with male upward mobile teachers, for if those principals are at all psychologically threatened by competition from capable professional women and if they believe that men should rightfully earn more than women, they would certainly tend to give the extra-paying jobs to men and direct the men toward the higher-paying administrative positions. Biamonte (1975) expressed this pervasive male bias. perhaps unwittingly, by stating that if both a male and a female applicant for an administrative post are equally qualified, "but the male is married, has a wife and four school children to support, and the female is married, has a husband who provides for her, and has children who are married, the matter of extra salary for an administrative post is clearly more important to his welfare than hers (p. 35)."

The forces of tradition, too, have their impact on the school experience of the young teacher. Young women are still expected to interrupt or terminate their careers and have babies, as the decreasing participation of women in the labor market indicates. They are expected to have transportable jobs so that they can relocate at their husbands' convenience. They are expected to be home after school hours and during the summer to care for their children. Teaching positions meet all of these criteria, whereas supervisory or administrative positions meet none of them.

Thus, the early teaching experience entails interacting forces which portend a continuing decrease of women in educational leadership. In the social structure of the school itself, in the recruitment and selection of persons for leadership, and in the external forces of society at large as they affect school life, the trends are toward accelerated decrease in numbers of women at the top.

3. Graduate Training

Once the decision to seek advancement in the field of education is made, advanced graduate training is generally required. Somehow, despite all the deterrents along the way, some women do seek advanced training for administrative posts in graduate schools of education. There, another level of sorting occurs and a different social system prevails.

Women, it should be noted, are in the distinct minority among education administration students, roughly one-third of master's

level students and about one-tenth of doctoral students. In 1968-1969, according to Clement (1973), "of the master's degrees conferred in Educational Administration, Supervision and Finance, men received 5,818 and women 1,782. Of the total 917 doctoral degrees conferred in this same category, men received 824 and women 93 (p. 10)." For 1970-71, Knezevich (1975, pp. 16-17) reported that women received 1,575 master's degrees in educational administration while men received 6,127; in educational supervision, women received 374 M.A. degrees and men received 333. During the same year 82 women and 875 men received doctoral degrees in educational administration as well as 9 women and 62 men in educational supervision.

In departments of educational administration/supervision the professors are overwhelmingly male--98 per cent male, in fact, in 1973 (Campbell and Newell, 1973, p. 18).

Apart from the sex difference, women in university-based preparation programs for educational administrators tend to be minorities in several respects. The few female students, it should be noted, are generally unusual people, having sought professional advancement despite all the odds, whereas their professors tend to be much more traditional, middle-class and conservative in orientation. Dinerman (1971), for example, noted the tendency of college and university professors to be "more conservative, more provincial, and more traditionally oriented than their counterparts in the business world (p. 259-260)" due to their preponderantly lower middle class origins and consequent concern with social standing. In educational administration particularly, as Campbell and Newell (1973) reported, the professors are "generally a little older, prefer more frequently a Protestant faith, are more likely to be married, and have more children (p. 25)." They stated, "there appears to be an alarming homogeneity within the professorship in educational administration. The number of mavericks...seems to be very small," possibly, they speculated, because of the public nature of the practice of educational administration (p. 137).

Although women have generally had to be deviant from the norm to be in administration training programs, the male students have typically been more conforming, more compatible with the existing power structure, more able to visualize themselves as part of the administration group. Thus, there are likely to be personality clashes between men and women in the graduate school situation: the women tend to be older, in many cases having raised families during the intervening years; they also tend to be more experienced and more socially deviant than the men.

These clashes might be particularly detrimental in the graduate school setting, where informal relationships have great potential impact both on initial job placement and on further career advancement. To the extent that women are excluded from the close friendships that often form in graduate school, they are denied influential colleagues throughout their careers. To the extent that women do not become comfortably compatible and collegial with their professors, they are denied important informal recommendations for jobs, recommendations that become increasingly important as the number of available jobs decreases.

In addition to age and personality factors, home responsibilities frequently contribute to the disadvantaged status of women, for family and child care responsibilities would tend to delimit social interaction and preclude participation in professionally rewarding trips and group experiences. Women's lower level of satisfaction in graduate school, as reported by Holstrom and Holstrom (1974, p. 16-17), due to less frequent and less supportive interaction with professors, results in a significantly higher dropout rate.

Departments of educational administration thrive on their placement capabilities for many reasons. A good placement record attracts more students; it results in more referrals of students, more requests for lucrative consultation services, more openings for interns, and more placement possibilities in the future. Students in graduate programs, therefore, are often assessed by their professors with respect to their placement potential and the likelihood of their eventually achieving influential positions. In this regard also, then, women are at a disadvantage; not only are they unlikely to reach very high positions, as the statistics amply indicate, but their limited geographic mobility circumscribes their job potential. "Are you place-bound?" is a question frequently asked. If the answer is yes, a degree of enthusiasm and interest on the professor's part is diminished. For women, the answer is frequently yes.

Graduate school training programs, then, have tended to perpetuate the decrease in numbers of women in leadership positions by providing incompatible and/or dissatisfying social settings for women and by differentiating students according to placement potential. Although doctoral degrees are not always required for educational leadership positions, they are becoming more frequently expected and will likely become requirements as the competition for scarce jobs intensified.

4. Entry-level Leadership

Each year about 1,000 graduates receive doctoral degrees[12] which, if they are fortunate, enable them to embark upon the first level of leadership careers. Entry-level educational leadership positions include principalships, assistant principalships or department headships, central office supervisory or coordinative positions, assistant professorships, or college/university administrative posts. In these positions success and satisfaction are important determinants of later advancement and, as at other career stages, numerous factors are relevant. Some factors to be considered in this section are the social isolation women experience in leadership positions, peer group expectations, and value orientations of men and women.

Some scholars have noted the importance of supportive collegial relationships during the entry-level leadership period. Leadership implies loneliness, since those in high-status positions are few in number, privy to confidential information, and required to make decisions that are occasionally unpopular. Newcomers to supervisory positions are often shocked by the fact that teachers, with whom they had formerly established easy friendships, now regard

them with suspicion or caution. Women, as the statistics cited earlier would indicate, are likely to be isolated amidst a group of male administrators and unable to share freely their concerns and problems for fear of being judged harshly. Some leaders have suggested, for this reason, that groups of women should be placed in internships or nearby entry-level posts together so that they can be mutually supportive and have a greater probability of success in the initial supervisory experience.

Women in supervisory positions are often regarded with some skepticism, the common expectation being that ambitious women are bossy, neurotic, catty, or overly demanding. Despite research findings to the contrary (Morsink, 1969; NCAWE, 1965, p. 20-22), women are believed to be less effective than men as superordinates, and most people, males and females alike, assert that they would rather work for men than for women (see McLure and McLure, 1974, p. 7). If, as can be assumed, these negative expectations cause people to be more judgmental of women supervisors, more watchful, and less tolerant, then the novice leader's likelihood of feeling satisfaction and success is significantly reduced. As a result, aspirations for further success at higher professional levels might be curtailed.

Women entering assistant professorships encounter similar problems. As the "tokens" on the faculty, they are isolated and regarded with skepticism. They are typically assigned the large introductory classes entailing much paper work (Dinerman, 1971, p. 254), and the demands on their time for women's groups, female representation on committees, and community endeavors make serious inroads on their research and writing time.[13] In addition, women find it somewhat more difficult to have their manuscripts accepted (Dinerman, 1971, p. 257; Freeman, 1971, p. 125) so that success in the "publish or perish" world of the university tends to be further hindered.

One determinant of promotion in education and other systems is the type of entry-level position assumed--whether it is a position providing access to higher levels or one regarded as a terminal point. In school districts and universities studies would likely reveal that individuals in certain positions are more frequently promoted to higher ranks than those in other positions. Secondary school principals, personnel directors or business and finance managers, for example, would likely be in the former category whereas elementary school principals, subject-area coordinators, and department heads would likely be regarded as terminal points. Some key elements differentiating the two categories would be the degree of visibility beyond the particular school system, the amount of interaction with the top-level administrators, and opportunities to learn the broader concerns and political context of leadership. Although data about this matter are not currently available, it is likely that women, more frequently than men, assume entry-level positions that do not provide access to higher levels within the organizational hierarchy.

Value differences between men and women may also be a significant factor at this state in a career. Women often regard the

principalship as the end of the career ladder, whereas men tend to consider the principalship to be a stepping stone to higher positions (NCAWE, 1965, p. 10, 21). Although the reasons for this difference are not clear, one causal factor, in addition to other personality factors mentioned above, might be differences in values. Women seem to value concern for children, democratic participation,[14] and voluntary service. Men, on the other hand, seem more frequently to value efficiency, decisive leadership, and economic and/or political success.[15] If these value differences do exist and if values are, to some degree, determinants of behavior, then women would tend to prefer to remain in contact with children, seek participation rather than leadership, and contribute extra services without demanding compensation. Conversely, men would tend to prefer to exercise management skills, seek decision-making (leadership) positions, and expect compensation such as money, recognition, or promotion for extra services. Thus, these value differences, if they do exist, would contribute to the trend toward decreasing numbers of women in leadership positions.

In this section, success at the entry level of leadership and promotion from that level have been considered to be contingent upon satisfaction, visibility, and value orientations. Acceptance and approval from peer groups and subordinates, responsibilities that entail sufficient interaction with superordinates and external groups, and value orientations favoring political and economic success appear to be prerequisites to further advancement.

5. Successively Higher Echelons of Leadership

In this discussion leadership has been considered to take several different forms. Superintendents, full professors, college or university deans and presidents, and high officials in professional and governmental organizations have all been regarded as educational leaders. Perhaps each type of position merits separate analysis, for each is characterized by a different route from middle management to highest executive levels. A common feature of all, however, is visibility within the appropriate reference groups. Visibility implies mobility among various relevant constituencies; it implies genuine contributions of a creative, scholarly, or service nature; and it implies intellectual deviance and risk orientation.

Within K-12 school systems the superintendent must be selected by a lay board of education. This is the most public type of educational leadership and, therefore, perhaps the most difficult for women to achieve. Appointment to the superintendency often depends upon selection by the most traditional segment of the district's population, the "pillars of the community" who become elected to the school board. Although there has been some increase in the numbers of women on local school boards, it is possible that this increase will result in a further decrease in the proportion of women in the superintendency since, as Horner (1971, p. 107) implied, these tradition-oriented women on school boards may have deep-seated biases against others, against professional women candidates, who defy the norms.

Universities are apparently more sheltered from external influences, but, as noted earlier, surprisingly traditional within. For scholars who publish extensively and serve the institution generously on committees and governing bodies, promotions up the ranks would seem likely regardless of sex; however, there is ample evidence to indicate that women are typically paid less than men for equivalent work, impeded in their research and publishing efforts, and denied promotions (Dinerman, 1971; Steiger et al., 1975; Chronicle of Higher Education, 1974 and 1975).

Outstanding scholarship along with demonstrated administrative ability, visibility among higher education leaders, and geographic mobility earmark individuals for deanships and presidencies. If a qualified professional woman is homebound by her husband's career or encouraged to earn less than he and retain lower status than he because of his needs or preferences, her options are, of course, relatively limited. Some successful female professors have been known to reject promotional opportunities for just those reasons.

Within professional associations and government agencies, promotion to the top is likely to be more dependent upon reliable, dedicated and effective service than upon scholarship per se or public acclaim. Nevertheless, approval by the organization's membership is required, membership that in educational administration is preponderantly male. In organizations with large female membership, such as the National Education Association (NEA), the Association for School Curriculum Development (ASCD), or the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA), top-level success is more readily attained by women than in such predominantly male organizations as the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA), or the American Association of School Personnel Administrators (AASPA). Within the unions, despite the large number of women who are members, the leadership is rarely female.

Success beyond the entry level thus appears to depend more upon public political factors than upon individuals' abilities. Of the relatively small number of women who become eligible for the highest positions of leadership, their attainment of those positions depends upon previous outstanding achievement, a broad base of visibility, and a constituency that is willing to accept their leadership.

Part II has been a brief overview of some of the forces that appear to operate at the various stages of a career in education to result in decreasing numbers of women in leadership positions. As depicted thus far, and as substantiated by the available statistics, the future looks grim to those who seek equal employment opportunities for women in education. Such people might be tempted to despair, so discouraging do the trends appear to be. Throughout the past ten to twenty year period, the participation of women at every stage of a career in education has been shown to be decreasing. At each stage a range of social forces contributing to this decrease has been identified.

The long-range statistics presented in Parts I and II, however, do not represent the full scope of trends affecting women's leadership in education. Within the past five to ten years, due largely to the impact of the Women's Liberation Movement, there are some upward trends which indicate possible future changes in the status of women in education.

Part III. Some Recent Trends

Within several domains of the education system as well as society at large there is evidence of a growing awareness of the prevailing inequities and a growing commitment to producing change. In contrast to the figures presented above, in other words, some trends have become apparent during the past five to ten years which represent increasing equalization of opportunities for women in education. For convenience, these trends have been grouped into four general domains of activity--the legal; the informational; the political; and the societal.

1. The legal domain encompasses the growing body of legislation at the federal and state levels as well as affirmative action and the mounting influence of precedent-setting litigation;
2. The informational domain pertains to the broad and growing range of dissemination activities, including women's studies and resource centers, placement services, training opportunities, and printed matter;
3. The political domain is concerned with the scope and impact of political action, from the local to the national levels;
4. The societal domain refers to various social changes that do not have direct impact on the education system, but that might have indirect influence on education or bear implications for changes in the education system.

Part III is an overview of these four spheres of activity, with emphasis upon the stages of the career progression that are likely to be most directly affected by each type of activity. The purpose of this section is to identify upward trends which might guide future action.

1. The Legal Domain

Of the varied and disparate types of activities promising to have impact on the participation of women in educational leadership, those potentially most powerful comprise the legal sphere. Since 1964 there has been a trend not only toward increased legislation and increased litigation, but toward greater specificity regarding criteria of compliance (i.e., affirmative action) and enforcement procedures. The body of federal and state legislation that has been enacted since 1964 is documented and described in detail in several sources with explanations of potential impact and procedures for redress.[16] For convenience,

a brief chronology of the relevant federal legislation is presented here:[17]

1964 - Civil Rights Act, Title VI--prohibits sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds.

1965 - Executive Order No. 11246--prohibits discrimination on bases of race, color, religion or national origin by institutions (or parts thereof) with federal contracts (or grants) of $10,000 or more and requires contractors to take affirmative action to ensure non-discriminatory employment practices.

1967 - Executive Order No. 11375, amending Executive Order No. 11246 (1965)--adds sex discrimination prohibition to the terms of Executive Order No. 11246.

1971 - Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act and Nurse Training Amendments Act, amending Title VII and Title VIII of the Public Service Act--affects students and employees in federally assisted health personnel training programs.

1971 - Revised Order No. 4, revising Executive Order No. 11375 (1967)--requires written affirmative action plans submitted to the Department of Labor by institutions (or parts thereof) receiving federal contracts (or grants) of $50,000 or more and having 50 or more employees.

1972 - Education Amendments (Higher Education Act) to the Equal Pay Act (1963)--prohibits sex discrimination in salaries and most fringe benefits of educational institutions. Title IX of this Act prohibits sex discrimination against students and employees in educational programs and activities, but was not enforced until guidelines were published.

1972 - Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution--ratified by 32 states as of this writing; three more states are required for federal enactment of this Amendment.[18]

1974 - Women's Education Equity Act--establishes a Council on Women's Educational Programs in the Office of Education to do a range of research, development, dissemination and training activities directed toward accelerating the elimination of sex bias in education.

1975 - Guidelines for Title IX of the Education Amendments (1972) to the Equal Pay Act (1963) published--enforces Title IX.

In addition, the state policy makers have enacted much legislation bearing upon prohibitions of discrimination against women (and other groups) in society at large and education in particular. Forty of the states have also established Commissions on the Status of Women, and four other states have delegated to previously established state agencies the responsibility for attending to women's

issues (Education Commission of the States, 1975b, p. 118-119).

One of the most visible and controversial of the federal legislative acts has been the affirmative action requirements delineated in Revised Order No. 4 (1971), with its unclear evaluative criteria and its uneven enforcement (Fields, 1975, p. 8). However, since 1970 suits have been filed against hundreds of institutions based on Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 and Revised Order No. 4 (Holden, November, 1972), and close to six million dollars have been awarded to plaintiffs in twelve states that have reported settlements for legal charges related to affirmative action (Education Commission of the States, 1975b, p. 112-113). By 1974 close to 10,000 sex discrimination complaints per year were heard by the forty-one State Anti-discrimination agencies.[19]

Affirmative action has been defined as "commitment of an employer or organization to eliminate discriminatory employment policies and practices and to actively remedy the current effects of past discrimination (National Education Association, 1973b)." An affirmative action plan is a written document expressing that commitment and generally including five sections: purpose or intent of the plan; analysis of work force utilization; problems and methods for solution; implementation of the plan; and numerical goals and timetables (National Education Association, 1973b, p. 2).

It is in relation to the analysis of work force utilization and the numerical goals and timetables sections that confounding problems arise, for reliable data on the workforce and on employee utilization by job classifications are difficult to generate, and sound information about the regional availability of a qualified employment pool classified by sex, race, and ethnicity is even more difficult to acquire. Additional difficulties, as noted, for example, in Johnson's (1975) description of the history of the affirmative action plan at the University of California at Berkeley, are caused by resistance due to fears of "reverse discrimination."

Despite the difficulties, however, the moral imperative of the concept of affirmative action and the threat of the withholding of federal dollars have caused thousands of institutions to develop such plans and to implement them with apparent sincerity. Fields (August, 1974) identified numerous institutions of higher education at which substantial numbers of new faculty and administrative positions have been filled by women and minority group members. Ladd and Lipset (September, 1975) found that in 1975 nearly one-third of all full-time faculty members under 30 were women, "their largest share ever of the profession's entering class." In the field of educational administration specifically, the percentage of professors who are women increased from about 2 per cent in 1970 to an estimated 5 per cent in 1975.[20] While specific public school data do not seem to be available, a similar trend can be assumed to exist in hundreds of school systems across the country. By December, 1973, 201 affirmative action plans had been submitted to the regional bureaus of the Office of Civil Rights (Fields, August, 1974, p. 8), and there is little doubt but that the number has substantially increased since then.

Almost equally visible and controversial has been the enactment of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. It has taken

more than three years (until July, 1975) for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to issue the regulations guiding enforcement. Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in admissions, employment, housing, financial aid and athletics in schools and colleges receiving federal aid. This legislation, therefore, promises to be a highly effective instrument for combatting the "hidden curriculum" of public schools, since unfair employment practices, sex-segregated classes for vocational and physical training, and unequal expenditures for athletic facilities are all prohibited by this law.

Legislation, then, and its concomitant litigation represent a significant upward trend in the field of education. In higher education alone, more than 500 institutions had been legally charged with sex discrimination by 1974 (Sandler, 1974, p. 82), and as a result there has been a perceptible decrease in the discrepancy between male professors' annual salaries and female professors' salaries, from a $1,040 gap in 1969 to $352 gap in 1973 (Chronicle of Higher Education, August 5, 1974).[21] Although equivalent data pertaining to K-12 school systems are not available, a similar decrease in pay differentials can be assumed.

In terms of the stages of a career in education, the various legislative acts and related statutes might be considered to have potential impact at all points, some more directly than others. Most directly affected, in all probability, will be the fourth and fifth stages--entry-level leadership positions and subsequent movement up the career ladder--since it is at those stages that equal pay legislation and affirmative action can be implemented immediately. A typical pattern in school systems and higher education institutions has been to assign women to supervisory and administrative responsibilities without changing their titles or providing more pay. A woman handling attendance routines or discipline cases, for example, might be called an attendance teacher or a guidance teacher and be expected to work for teacher's pay; men doing equivalent work would be designated assistant principals or deans and be paid higher salaries. Now, with the job analysis requirements of affirmative action legislation and the growing awareness of that legislation among teachers, the job description and classification inequities are likely to be significantly reduced and salaries adjusted accordingly. Furthermore, the affirmative action imperative has caused many employers actively to seek female personnel for the higher level positions and to provide training and encouragement for women to fill those positions. Many employers have complained, in all sincerity, about the amount of time and money entailed in locating or training women for high-level positions, but they have made the required investments and succeeded in equalizing, to some extent, their administrative ranks.

Less directly affected by the diverse legislation would be the teacher training, teaching, and graduate stages. Impact at these points would occur, if at all, over time--as college students observe more women to serve in professorships and administrative posts and meet more men in their education classes; as teachers observe more women in supervisory and administrative positions, are more frequently encouraged to accept managerial duties and

advanced training, and are required to revise curricula and teaching practices,[22] and as graduate administration students interact with more female students and professors[23] and become more easily placed after completing the degree requirements.

Youngsters' decisions to become teachers are also likely to be significantly affected by anti-discrimination legislation, but most indirectly and over the longest period of time. Gradually, text books, curricula, tracking systems, teachers' behaviors and administrative structures might alter, but changes that are perceptible to youngsters will be slow to evolve. Title IX, for example, requires unbiased texts and materials; but the processes of producing such materials in sufficient quantities and distributing them despite school budget constraints are lengthy ones. Also required is non-discriminatory practice as regards manual training shops and athletic facilities; but the number of girls requesting participation in activities that have traditionally been considered masculine will likely be small for a long time to come.

2. The Informational Domain

The tremendous increase in the production and dissemination of knowledge about women is ample illustration of the proverbial "information explosion" of recent years. In addition to a proliferation of popular literature, much of it highly polemical in style, this "explosion" has been characterized by a marked increase in sound scholarship and basic research about women as well as by the formation of numerous and complex networks of communication and mutual support. Three media have been particularly effective sources of nurturance and facilitation for this growth and spread of information: the classroom, the campus, and, of course, the press.

During the 1970's the colleges and universities across the nation have been the loci of the most pronounced trend toward knowledge production and sharing, as indicated by the tremendous growth in numbers of courses and programs devoted to women's studies. Between 1970 and 1975 the number of accredited courses of women's studies increased from under 100 to an estimated 4,000 or more[24] while non-credit courses have multiplied equivalently. During the same period, full academic programs increased in number from 2 to 87 (Howard, 1975, p. 14), including, by 1973, 5 bachelor's degree and 4 master's degree programs at major institutions of higher learning (Stimpson, 1973, p. 44). Such courses and programs are regarded as interdisciplinary in nature, incorporating psychological, sociological, political, historical, literary and occasionally physiological inquiries into the role of women in society.

A similar trend toward the development of Women's Studies Centers on campuses throughout the country is apparent. Whereas there were an estimated 20 such Centers in 1973, by 1975 most major campuses and many smaller institutions had Women's Studies Centers at which faculty and students could share resources, interests, and expertise (Stimpson, 1973, p. 44). In addition to establishing courses, bibliographies, and specialized libraries, providing career counseling and placement assistance, and generating

funds for research, these Centers have frequently sponsored special training opportunities for women in the form of conferences, institutes and seminars for professional and aspiring women in the vicinity of the campus. The outreach of these Centers has been immense and can be assumed to affect many thousands of students and professionals on and off campus.

A related phenomenon has been the development of professional placement services designed to counteract the traditional "old boy network" placement system. These placement networks provide information and visibility for qualified women who might otherwise be overlooked in the job market. One such service is the recently formed Higher Education Resource Services (HERS), sponsored by the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) with Ford Foundation support, which has a placement file on 241 women who are qualified for professorships or administrative positions in higher education. Candidates who are qualified for particular positions are referred to prospective employers gratis upon request. Another recently formed service is the Computerized Research and Placement System (CORPS), sponsored by the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) with Ford Foundation support. CORPS focuses upon students completing advanced degrees in general, higher, and special education administration. Begun in 1974, CORPS is a computer matching service handling about 400 active job candidates, including close to 200 women who are listed in an annually updated directory issued free of charge to all interested prospective employers.[25] In addition, the American Council of Education (ACE) compiles a resource file of women[26] as do numerous university-based Women's Studies Centers and specialized private employment agencies. Specifically within the public school leadership arena, a resource list of women seeking school superintendent positions has recently been initiated by the American Association of School Administrators (AASA),[27] and the National Council for Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE) has been conducting a job listing service for many years.[28] To an increasing degree these resource services share information and provide mutual support so that the outreach of each service is expanded.

Research about women in society at large and education in particular has become a respectable and more frequently explored domain of scholarship in recent years. In all of the academic disciplines, scholarly attention is increasingly being drawn toward research about women, as the growing numbers of articles about women in scholarly publications indicates. In the field of psychology alone Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) synthesized approximately 1400 studies of sex differences, most of which were conducted between 1966 and 1973. Of those studies about 800 were conducted between 1970 and 1973. Several scholarly journals devoted entirely to research about women were founded in the 1970's: Feminist Studies and Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal began publishing in 1972 (Stimpson, 1973, p. 44); Women Studies Abstracts was also initiated in 1972; Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society was initiated by the University of Chicago Press in 1975. Another scholarly journal, Psychology of Women Quarterly, is slated for initial publication in 1976.

In the field of educational administration increasing numbers of doctoral dissertations have dealt with such issues as women teachers' attitudes toward administration careers, job placement discrimination, and perceived leadership styles. This trend toward research about women in educational leadership appears likely to increase as more women enter doctoral programs and obtain professorships in the field of educational administration.

In addition to the growing body of original scholarly research about women, other types of published materials represent a similar upward trend in the informational domain. In contrast to the home-making-fashions-romance publications that still proliferate, the 1970's marked the growth and development of sophisticated publications focused upon the "new women." Several major consciousness-raising books of the late 1960's and early 1970's--particularly Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, Millett's Sexual Politics, and Greer's The Female Eunuch[29]--seem to have provided the foundation for a very large number of publications in the later 1970's, including books and anthologies, articles, and periodicals directed particularly toward the "new women." Of the several magazines and newsletters of this type that have been founded during recent years, Ms., Do It Now, KNOW News, The Spokeswoman and Comment have attracted particular attention.[30] Many magazines and journals have published special issues as well as countless articles concerning women.[31]

3. The Political Domain

In a most significant sense the legislative and informational spheres of activity might be regarded as political, concerning, as they do, efforts of some groups of people to influence other groups. However, this section treats a more narrowly defined "political," the intentional use of power by some groups to influence other groups--by pressure, sanctions, harrassment, or whatever other resources are at hand. Within this domain the trend is toward increasingly sophisticated uses of power politics by women at the grass roots level as well as within large organizations and at the national level.

One type of political action that is by no means negligible in impact is the explicit commitment of national leaders to the cause of equal opportunity in education for women and minorities. That the Commissioner of Education, the Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the Executive Director of the Education Commission of the States (ECS), the President of the American Council on Education (ACE), and the Executive Director of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), among others, have all publicly declared their commitment to the cause of equal opportunity for women is both evidence of widespread awareness of the problem and impetus for further action. Each of these professional organizations has, indeed, taken action to implement that commitment: AASA in the form of an Advisory Commission on Sex Equality in Education; ECS in the form of an Equal Rights for Women in Education project; ACE in the form of an Office of Women in Higher Education; and UCEA in the form of a major objective for the 1974-79 period, "An increased number of women and

minority group students recruited and prepared to meet the needs in American education (University Council for Educational Administration, 1973)."

These highly visible efforts might be the result of years of work by less visible, but well organized, groups of women acting in conventions, caucuses, and coalitions. Several national women's organizations are large enough and prestigious enough now to exert influence on institutions and legislation. Such groups include the National Organization of Women (NOW), the National Council of Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE), and the American Association of University Women (AAUW). These groups, with their improved communication between central headquarters and members and their willingness to form coalitions, have been and will be increasingly able to rally massive support for actions beneficial to women.

Within the major professional organizations there are increasing numbers of women's caucuses and women's interest groups working to improve conditions for women in each profession. A sample of these groups was studied by Krenkel (1975), who reported political activity and information sharing to be major foci of attention. That these groups are able to form is in itself evidence of increasing participation and/or awareness of women in the professions; as their numbers increase their political influence within each profession will likely increase as well. Of particular interest is the recent formation of a coalition of many of these professional women's caucuses for mutual support and information exchange. This organization, formed in 1975 and entitled the Committee for Equal Professional Opportunity (CEPO), includes directors of women's programs in such organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Association of American Colleges, the American Association for Higher Education, the American Association of University Professors, the American Council on Education, and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.[32] Leaders of these special interest groups currently meet regularly to share experiences and ideas about successful strategies for political action.

Labor unions also represent a potential arena for political ferment initiated by women, though the extent to which women have influenced contract negotiations appears to be not yet documented. Sandler (1974) cogently summarized the ways in which women's caucuses in unions can utilize both the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to influence the direction of professional negotiations, but she did not cite specific instances of such influence. In institutions of higher education the trend is clearly toward unionization, though higher education leaders have been resisting the trend vigorously. With the gradual increase in numbers of women faculty members as well (Ladd and Lipset, 1975), the potential for powerful women's caucuses is great, especially if, as recommended by Holden (November and December, 1972), the professional women succeed in including the clerical workers and support staff within the same union.

Unionism represents grass roots politics at its liveliest: the face-to-face confrontations whereby crucial decisions affecting

daily lives are made; the personal camaraderie whereby awareness and group identity are established; the small but palpable victories that keep emotional commitment at a high level. How many local chapter women's caucuses exist is unknow, for many do not operate on a formal basis. How many non-union women's groups exist in school districts and on university campuses across the nation is also unknown, for many convene informally or operate "underground." Holden (November and December, 1972), for example, described the "silent sisterhood" at the University of Michigan, a pattern that probably exists in many school districts and institutions where recriminations for unorthodox political activity are feared. What is known, however, is that visible local action groups exist in increasing numbers and that they comprise a potent force for change. Local group action can be a force for change at the state level as well as within districts, as illustrated by the strong emphasis on the elimination of sex bias in education in the states of Washington and Pennsylvania. Root (1974, p. 32) noted that sex bias became a priority issue in these states "because of a concentrated pressure from well-organized groups of feminists and teachers who pressured their school administrators who, in turn, pressured the state for guidance."

Local political action of a formal or informal nature has involved growing numbers of women in higher education institutions as well. Affirmative action officers, whose roles are exclusively to uphold the rights of women and members of minority groups, exist on hundreds of campuses now. Faculty and student groups of women have also been having impact on policies and practices in colleges and universities. At least one group of women graduate students of educational administration, those at the State University of New York at Buffalo, organized to influence the recruitment and placement practices at their institution and reported considerable success (UCEA Review, 1974).

The political sphere more uniformly than the others is likely to affect people at every stage of the career in education--the youngsters who hear their parents discussing community activity and sense the political climate of their schools; the teachers who engage in union and community activities, participate in the discussions in the teachers' lounge, and see changes going on about them; the undergraduate and graduate students who themselves, in some instances, engage in the political life of the campus; the administrators and professors who are in a position to do something and/or are pressured by others to do something; and the higher-level leaders whose decisions shape the lives of their constituencies.

4. The Societal Domain

Many of the changes that our society is currently undergoing do not have direct bearing upon education, but are likely to have profound indirect impact on the role of women in education. A few of those changes are reviewed here with reference to their possible effects upon women in educational leadership.

The age of technology is still in its early stages and continuing to reduce the time and energy required for housework. With microwave ovens, ultrasonic dishwashers, wrinkle-free clothing and numerous other timesaving devices, housework might ultimately be reduced to minutes a day. There will be more and more time on hand for bright and energetic women to seek an outlet for their abilities in advanced training and careers. Already, according to Rossi (1965, p. 1199), counseling centers for retraining women who wish to return to professional employment have been mushrooming throughout the country. Many of these women, upon completion of teacher training programs, can be expected to seek further advancement eventually.

The age of "the pill" is only now getting started, as smaller families, lower birth rates, and increasing numbers of childless couples would indicate. Contraception, the trend toward earlier marriage, increasing availability of child care centers, legalized abortion, and higher divorce rates combine to free tremendous numbers of women to pursue careers and "self-actualization" possibly in the field of education. As documented by Lipman-Blumen et al. (1975), women who are active in the American Educational Research Association (AERA) are much more likely than the active men in AERA to be single and/or childless. If these findings can be extrapolated to educational leadership in general, then divorce rates and contraception can be expected to have a positive impact on women in educational leadership.

Bureaucratic organizations, resulting from advanced technology, continue to grow, with their emphasis on impersonality, efficiency, and expertise. In education one manifestation of the bureaucratic ethos is the latest catchword in administrator training, "competency-based preparation." This movement, already mandated in several states, might indeed provide the rationale for placing competent people, regardless of sex, in important leadership positions. Similarly, the growing public pressure for "accountability" in education might help to focus attention on effectiveness and therefore help capable women come to the fore.

Some scholars have noted a trend toward democratization, both within the family and in most other social institutions. Freeman (1971), for example, synthesized various scholars' thinking on this issue. Such a trend implies that the subjugation of any group is, to an increasing degree, morally reprehensible. In school systems and higher education it is possible that both unionism and the students' rights movement will help to reduce the traditional paternalism and to foster the advancement of women.

Countless other changes characterize contemporary society, a society more subject now, perhaps, than ever before to fluctuation. Many of the changes will have negative or doubtful impact on the role of women in education--ecology, architectural developments, space exploration, a "no growth economy." Some of the developments that might have favorable effects, as reviewed in this section, include technological advances, birth control, emphasis on professional competency, and school democratization.

Part IV. Summary and Recommendations

The preceeding sections constitute an overview of some of the apparent trends related to women in educational leadership. If it were possible to arrange those trends neatly in an equation, assigning appropriate weights to each factor, then projection into the future would be a relatively simple matter of mathematics. For many reasons, however, such an equation is not feasible. One problem is that the factors reviewed above have been selected on the basis of the available literature; that is, there has been no theoretical basis for selecting these particular variables or for assuming them to be interrelated, and there has been no attempt to identify all the relevant factors. Another problem is that the available data are uneven and incomplete, even as regard the variables included in this analysis; not only are there obvious gaps in the available information, but the data are varied in quantity and reliability as well. A third limitation is that the literature reviewed represents the thinking and research of those who favor equalization of opportunities for women; viewpoints and findings of the many opponents have not been included. A fourth problem, possibly the most significant, is that the relative impact of the various social forces resulting in these trends cannot be determined. Thus, a "weighing in the balance" of the upward and downward trends outlined in the preceeding sections must remain a matter for conjecture rather than calculation.

On both sides of the hypothetical balance scale there are trends that represent very powerful social forces. Of the social forces resulting in recent upward trends the most salient are probably in the legislative and informational domains. Nine items of federal legislation during the past ten years have had and will continue to have inestimable repercussions including: 1) stimulating state legislatures and departments of education to pass equivalent statutes; 2) enabling litigation and the redress of past wrongs; 3) creating agencies to focus attention on further elimination of inequities; 4) encouraging individuals and political action groups to intensify their efforts; and 5) motivating decision makers to take preventive action quickly so as to avoid litigation. The informational domain, too, represents "multiplier effects" of immeasurable proportions, including widespread awareness of the prevailing inequities, increased communication and a growing esprit among professional women, and motivation for thousands of women to raise their levels of career aspirations. However, powerful social forces, especially economic forces and the dictates of tradition, have resulted in long-range downward trends. Such economic factors as the industrial need for cheap labor and for a consumption-oriented society, the general economic retrenchment, and soaring unemployment rates interact to impede the advancement of women. The forces of tradition which deter women from career achievement are too numerous and too intricate to identify in detail, for they permeate our entire culture. Language, customs, clothing, lifestyles, values, beliefs, habits, mores--all affect the total fabric of our lives and interact to reduce the participation of women in social leadership.

A review of the apparent trends, as outlined in the preceeding

sections, results in an almost inescapable projection into the future: women will probably not achieve a significantly greater share of the leadership roles in education. During the next ten to twenty years women will probably succeed in attaining a greater number of middle management or entry level positions than they currently occupy, but progress in the attainment of highest level positions will probably be slow and limited. Some of the reasons for these conclusions are discussed briefly below.

Economic conditions can be assumed to be more powerful than any of the forces affecting the recent upward trends identified in Part III. In the legal domain, for example, existing power structures can more easily bear the costs of extended litigation than can subordinate persons in those structures, and subordinates are very often reluctant to bring charges for fear of reprisals. In the informational domain the most massive, attractive and persuasive media of communication are those used for advertising; media such as network television, newspapers and slick magazines are, therefore, controlled by economic interests, and groups desiring significant social change have had little impact on such mass media. In the political domain, quite obviously, successful mobilization of groups depends upon financial resources--for communication, for travel, for professional staff, for materials and supplies, for facilities, and for various means of persuasion.

The patterns of tradition can also be assumed to be more influential than any of the social forces affecting the recent upward trends, since they are, by definition, broadly accepted and rarely questioned. Behavior patterns in a culture are habitual or unconsciously motivated, therefore difficult to recognize or change. For example, the majority of women so habitually engage in self-subordinating or ingratiating behaviors (i.e., smiling much more frequently than men, smiling at men more frequently than at women, dressing so as to draw attention to sexual characteristics) that they are unaware of the subordinating effect of these behaviors and would feel uncomfortable behaving otherwise. Similarly, many men habitually behave in ways that subordinate women (i.e., referring to grown women as girls or gals, addressing females by first name, "invading" personal territory by touching in a paternalistic manner) and would also feel uncomfortable behaving otherwise. What these observations illustrate is that it is difficult for women to overcome non-conscious behaviors so as to attain and retain superordinacy over men even when they are in superordinate positions.

Many apparent parallels exist between the women's movement and the Black movement that began some twenty years sooner. Although there are greater numbers of Blacks in professorships and middle management positions than there were ten years ago, their number in highest level positions continues to decline. Furthermore, the discrepancies in income and achievement between the black population and the white population have continued to increase throughout this thirty-year period. A similar pattern is likely to evolve in relation to women.

These projections are certainly not intended to discourage efforts towards equalization of opportunity for women. On the contrary, they indicate that new initiatives and renewed energy are

are required to supplement the efforts that have already been having some impact. A range of recommendations for action is presented here. Some of them will cause discomfort, even among those who believe themselves liberal on this issue, because they entail changes in behavior patterns and high risk of disapproval. Others will appear mundane, especially to people who are deeply involved in women's group activities. Some recommendations pertain to social behaviors in general that all interested persons can practice, although most concern activities that relate to specific roles in the field of education.

General Recommendations

Social phenomena, as implied throughout this paper, are inextricably interrelated and interdependent. Changes in any one sphere have inevitable repercussions in all other spheres, some more directly and forcefully than others. Therefore, behavioral changes in domains that seem irrelevant to the education system will have impact on education. This is the rationale for a range of recommendations about general social behavior, behavior that any interested person within or outside the field of education can practice. They are presented here with certain assumptions in mind:

a) that changes in the roles of women in society generally will affect the participation of women in educational leadership;
b) that all behavioral changes require that individuals take the risk of social disapproval or more serious consequences;
c) that the perceived risks are most often greater than the actual risks and that there are often unanticipated rewards for behavioral changes (i.e., satisfaction, respect from others, approval by new reference groups) that compensate for the "punishments;"
d) that leadership implies risk-oriented behavior; those who do not take risks by initiating change do not and should not attain leadership positions;
e) that norms within a culture represent majority preferences, not inherent qualities of good and bad or right and wrong. Norms can change or be changed.

The general recommendations following relate more directly to the first section of this paper than to succeeding sections. They relate to conditions in society at large which influence individuals' decisions to pursue a career in education; they relate to the general social context of career decisions.

1) Language usage. Masculine pronouns used with reference to people in general, especially high ranking people, can be regarded as "generic" only in a male dominated culture. The language represents as well as reinforces the culture. Persons interested in equal opportunities for women and men should try to change their own language patterns both as a contribution to changing the norms and as a mild reminder to audiences that social inequities exist. Authors,

public speakers, and executives especially should carefully edit their written work for sex bias in the use of language. These changes should not be regarded merely as a courtesy to women in the audience, as some of the more considerate male speakers seem to believe, but as a basic contribution to the improvement of the English language which is appropriate for all-male as well as mixed audiences.

2) Forms of address. Related to the general language problem are the inequitable forms of address in what is currently considered to be polite communication: women are differentiated by marital status whereas men are not. If sex roles are not supposed to be relevant to job performance, then sex-role titles should be inappropriate for business communication. All women, except those with academic titles, should be addressed as Ms., a form that will gain social acceptance with increased use. Alternatively, non-academic titles can be discontinued altogether, only first and/or last names being used instead, without loss of clarity but with increased equity. More directly stated, Mr. and Ms. distinctions should be eliminated in business communications.

3) Clothing styles. Many men have been taught to believe that ogling women, thinking of sex when they encounter women, alluding to the relative attractiveness of women, and like behaviors are evidence of their own masculinity. The clothing that is currently considered proper or stylish for women contributes to their "sex object" status by revealing or emphasizing physical characteristics which should be irrelevant to job performance. Women should eliminate this disadvantage by dressing to conceal physical characteristics in business settings. Men who favor equalization of opportunities for women should encourage this type of clothing. Eventually the norms for appropriate business clothing can change.

4) Business patronage. Women who are successful in business and the professions serve as leadership role models for others and can better afford to contribute money and expertise to women's political action groups. Therefore, men and women who favor equalization of opportunities for women should seek out female professional practitioners to serve their medical, dental, legal, psychiatric, consultative, accounting, and like professional needs. Similarly, female entrepreneurs should be patronized and, to the greatest extent possible, business enterprises that evidence sex discrimination in personnel policies and practices should be avoided until the inequities are eliminated. Within small communities a relatively small political group can have serious impact on local businesses, especially if the focus is upon a few firms at a time, and can have impact on professional persons' careers.

5) Financial investments. Related to the above recommendations (4) is the matter of investments such as savings, loans, and stocks. Equalization of opportunities for women can be furthered by: a) investing in businesses that are owned and/or operated by women; b) investing in businesses that are completely non-discriminatory towards women in employment practices and advertising; c) saving in and/or borrowing from banks which are non-discriminatory in employment and lending policies; and d) doing financial transactions with banks which aid small businesses and have a record of assisting women's businesses.

Quite obviously, the actions recommended here cannot bring about dramatic social change in the near future, given the relatively small number of people involved. Those who would undertake these actions, however, would be helping some women to become successful leaders, would be encouraging some other people to follow suit, and would be initiating changes that could eventually grow into major social forces.

Education System Recommendations

Other recommendations pertain more directly to the field of education, particularly to what educators at various levels in the hierarchy of the education system can do to improve the status of women. An attempt has been made to generate recommendations that have not been widely discussed in the literature and have not been implemented extensively. The focus is on what concerned individuals can do.

A. Federal education agencies and foundations. Five recommendations to federal agencies were set forth by Lyon and Saario (1973), p. 122) including:

6) public recognition of discrimination against women and

7) internal enforcement of Title IX guidelines in terms of personnel practices and funded projects, and

8) prompt review and investigation of discrimination complaints.

To these might be added recommendations directed toward leaders in major education-related foundations as well as in national agencies:

9) Project directors in foundations should withhold support funds from organizations that do not comply with anti-discrimination legislation; extent of compliance within organizations submitting proposals should be a significant factor in the resource allocation decisions.

10) Foundation and federal agency leaders can initiate action

as well as react to proposals by sponsoring and helping to design national studies of compliance with anti-discrimination legislation in education. The funding of such studies and dissemination of findings might stimulate law suits in non-complying organizations.

11) As in the federal agencies, foundation leaders should direct priority attention to hiring professional women and complying with federal anti-discrimination guidelines within the foundations.

12) Since affirmative action officers have an ambiguous and conflict-laden role for which few have been trained, a national association of affirmative action officers is urgently needed. Separate divisions for K-12 systems, community colleges, 4-year colleges and technical schools, and universities would be desirable so as to provide for specialized professional development opportunities, information sharing, and mutual support among affirmative action officers. The organization of such an association should be initiated by a federal agency or national foundation.

B. National professional organizations.

13) Leaders in national organizations should, as some have done, publicly acknowledge the existence of the problem and initiate a range of projects to address the problem within each profession and academic discipline. Such projects might include: a) sponsored research to clarify the nature, extent, and ramifications of discrimination against women in educational administration and higher education; b) resource lists to facilitate the placement of women within the professions; c) special training workshops and materials to help women advance to leadership positions within each profession; d) scholarships for women to accomplish advanced training and research.

14) National (or regional) conventions should be organized with the expectation that women professionals will participate. More specifically: a) child care facilities and personnel should be provided at convention sites; b) profession-related adjunct activities that are intellectually stimulating can be provided for husbands and wives (jointly) of conference participants.

15) Organizational members concerned about the advancement of women within their profession should: a) join women's caucuses, or create them, in order to focus the entire organization's attention on the problems women confront, to place women on the executive boards, and to influence the organization's program of activities; b) establish close communication links with other women in the organization so as to create, over time, a mutual support system to substitute for the "old boy networks" in the various professions;

c) elect women or others sympathetic to their cause to organizational offices.

C. State governance structures. Three recommendations articulated by Lyon and Saario (1973, p. 122) were directed toward state departments of education:

16) recognition of the problem and priority attention to the hiring and promotion of women,

17) enactment of legislation consonant with federal anti-discrimination legislation, and

18) analysis of alternative means of administrator certification for women.

Other governing agencies at the state level can also have impact on the advancement of women to leadership in education:

19) Interested governors, legislators, and/or chief state school officers should initiate and sponsor in-depth research to determine the degree, types, and effects of discrimination against women in school districts and regional units throughout the state.

20) Special career advancement training should be offered for women at the state level and technical assistance, instructional materials, and support funds for such training should be made available to local districts and regional units.

21) Scholarship money and released time should be provided for women to achieve advanced graduate training at universities within the state.

22) State-level leaders should establish special committees, task forces, and advisory groups to address the various aspects of the "hidden curriculum" as it is manifested within the state's education system.

23) Affirmative action officers within school districts, colleges, and universities in the state should be provided special training opportunities to help them gain effectiveness, mutual support, and information sharing.

24) A related recommendation is that state associations of affirmative action officers be formed and convened regularly. Resources to support the founding of such associations, facilities for meetings and communications, development of training materials, and participation in the meetings should be provided, at least initially, by state-level education agencies.

D. Local education agencies. Six recommendations by Lyon and Saario (1973, p. 122) emphasized:

25) speedy compliance with federal anti-discrimination legislation, and

26) recruitment by school boards of women for superintendencies.

Other actions that can be implemented at the local district level include the following:

27) Women in the system should be encouraged by principals and superintendents to prepare for career advancement, and special training opportunities within the district or at nearby universities should be provided.

28) Union or professional association chapter leaders should arrange to include equal opportunity clauses (consonant with federal legislation) in district contracts. By this means complaints can be handled quickly and inexpensively through grievance procedures rather than through prolonged legal actions.

29) Within local union or association chapters, as suggested earlier, women's caucuses should be formed for purposes of influencing contract development, negotiation processes, and organization elections.

30) Parents association and school board members can initiate task forces, studies, or action groups to draw public attention to discriminatory practices within districts.

31) Many national professional organizations, such as the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the Association for School Curriculum Development (ASCD), Phi Delta Kappa (PDK), and the National Council of Administrative Women in Education (NCAWE) have state or local chapters which influence policies, and programs within the national organizations. Professional women should be informed about these chapters and encouraged to join. And women at all levels in the education system should certainly become active members of these chapters, both to establish informal professional relationships and to caucus for desirable changes in the organizations' leadership, policies, and programs.

32) Local groups of women educators can work cooperatively with other local women's action groups in a variety of ways such as: a) compiling and sharing lists of local women professionals and business owners; b) providing school-related information; c) supporting particular school board candidates.

33) Women's action group formation by high school and community college students should be encouraged and assisted either in conjunction with or apart from other women's groups. Participation by youngsters in such groups provides excellent early training in politics and leadership.

E. <u>Colleges and schools of education</u>. Several recommendations were

offered by Lyon and Saario (1973, p. 122-123), including:

34) speedy compliance with federal anti-discrimination legislation,

35) recruitment of women into administrative, faculty, and student ranks,

36) financial support for women students regardless of marital status, and

37) special placement efforts for female graduates.

Additional actions within colleges and schools of education can have great impact on the advancement of women in education:

38) Affirmative action officers should be empowered to prevent discriminatory practices and should be provided the time and resources to acquire training for their special role.

39) Curricula and materials for teacher education courses should be altered so as to: a) generate understanding of the total education system, b) train teachers to eliminate sex bias from classrooms and schools, c) remove sex bias from teacher training materials, and d) include rigorous training in theory-based research and knowledge utilization.

40) Since women tend to have limited aspirations, professors should encourage capable female teacher trainees to consider higher-level career goals.

41) Women and concerned men in higher education, including advanced students, instructors, professors of all ranks, and administrators, should make a point of joining and actively participating in national and local chapters of such professional associations as the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), Phi Delta Kappa (PDK), the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) as well as the discipline-based and role-based associations. Within these organizations attention can be drawn to needed improvements in the status of women by active participants, and informal relationships that are important for career advancement can be established.

F. Departments of educational administration. Ten recommendations directed toward professors of educational administration were articulated by McLure and McLure (1974, p. 7-9). They include:

42) improving the placement sponsorship system,

43) dispelling the myths about female administrators,

44) recruiting women into educational administration professorships, and

45) conducting and encouraging research related to the problems of women in education.

A few additional recommendations are proposed which have direct bearing upon preparation programs for educational administrators:

46) Training in ways to eliminate sex bias from schools and school systems should be provided for all administrator trainees, male as well as female.

47) Courses or workshops for prospective women administrators should be initiated to help women prepare for unique problems.

48) Women students of educational administration within each institution should work together as a special interest group to: a) help raise the awareness level among themselves, their colleagues, and their professors; b) help professors and peers reduce the frequency of sex differentiating behaviors: c) provide mutual support and encouragement; and d) participate in department governance. Women students in master's, specialist, and doctoral programs should join forces to increase their effectiveness.

49) Concerned professors (male and female) should encourage, support, and help students so that such groups become organized.

50) National professional associations that focus particularly on departments of general and higher education administration include the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA), and the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE, formerly APHE). It is particularly important that women professors and advanced graduate students become actively involved in these organizations and their state or regional counterparts so that the prevailing stereotypes might be more quickly dispelled.

This list of recommendations is not and is not intended to be comprehensive. Its intent is to stimulate thinking on the part of those who favor equal opportunity for women. Its message is that mute sympathy with the "women's cause" is not enough, for there are things that anyone at any level can do.

If all people who desire equalization of opportunity were to engage in all the relevant actions such as those recommended here, we would still not be likely to detect a change in women's status in the near future. However, those who act upon their beliefs influence others who in turn influence still others so that a growing cadre of active citizens can, in time, have appreciable impact. With affirmative action--action which affirms one's beliefs in democratic principles--the trends depicting women in educational leadership can eventually indicate equal representation of women and men in educational leadership.

NOTES

1. Freeman (1971) cited the Blood studies as well as one by Sontag in which children with increasing I.Q. scores over time were found to be more assertive, independent, and dominant in interaction with other children than those with declining I.Q. scores. An implication, worthy of verification, would be that daughters of working mothers would be more likely to demonstrate improving I.Q. scores than would other girls.

2. Unemployment statistics offered by the U. S. Department of Labor are likely to be extremely conservative, since they are based upon figures compiled by the U. S. Census Bureau. Persons counted as "unemployed" are those who had been employed or had sought employment prior to the census, but were not employed at the time of the census. Thus, the figures do not represent the immense numbers of women and poor people who had never sought employment. The widespread unemployment of recent years has likely affected women almost twice as severely as men in terms of recorded figures and much more severely when those not included in the published statistics are taken into consideration.

3. Despite the overall increase in numbers of working women, they represented only 37% of all professional and technical workers in 1969, as compared to 45% in 1940 (p. 9). Women's representation in low skilled service work, excluding private household work for which their proportional representation is much greater, was 59% in 1969 as compared to 40% in 1940 (p. 15). The earning gap between women and men has expanded from about $1,700 in 1957 to $3,207 in 1968; full-time working women in 1968 earned 58% of what full-time working men earned, whereas they earned 64% a decade earlier (p. 5).

4. Graham (1973) reported her extensive survey of schoolbooks, in which the references to males were found to be seven times as frequent as references to females, and boys were mentioned twice as often as girls. Despite that discrepancy, however, the word mother occurs more frequently than father, and wife occurs three times as often as husband. Her conclusion is that females are not only grossly underrepresented in relation to the population at large, but stereotyped more than males "in the supporting roles that refer to their relationships to men and children (p. 12)."

   Levy and Stacy (1973) also cited content analyses of text books, in which it was found that "in stories where the main character exhibited cleverness, problem solving ability, acquisition of skills, and adventurousness, males were the protagonists four times as often as females...(p. 106)." They noted, too, that women appeared in 25 different occupations, whereas men appeared in 147.

   Bart (1974) noted the omissions, in history and social studies text books, of women's contributions to the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and arts and letters as well as the implicit assumption in text books, for example in health and civics

classes, that there are no viable alternatives to marriage, motherhood,--the nuclear family, or the economic status quo (p. 38-39).

5. Levy and Stacey (1973) noted that teachers habitually differentiate between boys and girls in, for example, monitorial assignments, disciplining behavior and instructional style. "They tend to praise boys more highly than girls, particularly for achievement, and to spend more instructional time with the boys...(p. 107)." Serbin and O'Leary (1975) described teachers' sex-differentiating behaviors as found even in nursery school settings.

   Sexton (1970) expressed a concern that schools are "feminizing" little boys by training them to be docile, obedient, and conforming. However, as Levy and Stacey countered, such training of girls is equally alarming.

6. Fields, R. (undated), p. 6.

7. Most significant of the sex-segregated classes in coeducational schools are the physical education and health classes (since they make for differences in athletic ability and physical well-being as perpetuate ignorance about physical development and human sexuality) and industrial arts or "shop" classes (since they reinforce stereotypic learning and influence vocational choices).

8. Horner (1971) noted that the proportion of women college graduates is smaller today than it was thirty years ago although their absolute number has increased. She noted, too, the decrease in numbers of women in upper-echelon positions since pre-World War II, an indication that women's employment levels are not commensurate with their educational achievement.

   Rossi (1965) reported similar decreases in the proportions of women in mathematics and science during the 1950-60 decade.

9. This conclusion can be deduced from figures indicating women's employment in professional areas other than teaching or nursing. As Koontz (U. S. Department of Labor, 1971) stated, "although women traditionally have made up a large part of the teacher corps, in recent years only 22 per cent of the faculty and other professional staff in institutions of higher education were women (p. 11)" and "Women are heavily represented in the health fields, but in 1968 only 7 per cent of all physicians were women (p. 11)."

   Bird (1971) reported that less than 10 per cent of all the professional or "knowledge" elites except classroom teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, and journalists, are women (p. 56).

10. Holden (1972), in a study of Michigan State University, found that virtually all of the 2,204 clerical employees at MSU (as elsewhere) are women.

11. Fields (undated), stated "School counselors will argue that they are supposed to facilitate 'adjustment,' not to prescribe goals which are inconsistent with maximum potential for realization (p. 6)."

    Sexton (1970) also noted the training for conformity prevalent in schools.

12. Clement (1973, p. 10) stated that 917 doctorates in Educational Administration, Supervision and Finance were awarded in 1968-69.

    Knezevich (1975, p. 13) reported, from figures published by the Digest in Educational Statistics, that 1,028 individuals completed doctorates in Educational Administration in 1971-72.

13. See also Holden (November, 1972, p. 841), Steiger et al. (1975, p. 3), and Ladd and Lipset (1975) regarding types of discrimination against female faculty members in institutions of higher learning.

14. Morsink (1969), in a study of perceptions of leadership style, found female principals to be perceived to be more democratic in style than male principals.

15. These value differences between women and men have been inferred from conversations during numerous group meetings of male and female educators. Verification of such differences by means of content analyses of discussions would be a valuable contribution to knowledge about the field of education.

16. See, for example, the National Education Association (1973b) publication, What is Affirmative Action?, which includes (pp. 10-11) a brief summary of federal laws forbidding discrimination on the basis of race or sex and identifies the administrative agency responsible for each.

    McCune's article, "Discrimination is Against the Law (1973)," provides a summary of federal legislation as well as an analysis of the importance of each regulation and advice about how to file for redress.

    The Education Commission of the States (1975a) produced an exhaustive analysis of "the federal statutory scheme dealing with equal rights for women in education (p. i)" which includes a detailed chart of the various areas of concern, relevant provisions and regulations, legal sources, and parties covered in the "Federal Statutory Scheme (pp. 26-40)." Also produced by the Education Commission of the States (1975b) is a detailed compilation of state laws and policies affecting equal rights for women in education with a state-by-state summary of legislation and enforcement apparatus.

17. This chronology includes information from McCune (1973), the

National Education Association (1973b), Johnson (1975), and the Education Commission of the States (1975a and 1975b).

18. Information on Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) ratification was culled from the Education Commission of the States (1975b) report. States which had ratified ERA and later rescinded support are not included in this total.

19. Education Commisssion of the States, 1975b, pp. 112-113. An assumption is that unreported complaints have been lodged during 1973-4 with the ten state agencies that reported no information available.

20. These estimates are based upon faculty rosters for departments of general, special, and higher education administration in the 40 major universities that were members of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) throughout the 1970-1975 period. Of approximately 600 professors in those departments, 13 were women in 1970-71; 28 were women in 1974-75. It is assumed that UCEA member institutions are representative of all universities with doctoral programs for preparing educational leaders.

21. These figures, based on an analysis by Professor Michael Faia (College of William and Mary) of survey data collected by the American Council on Education in 1973, are described as "conservative," since comparisons made on the basis of equivalent rank do not take into consideration the effects of past discrimination on hiring or promotions within institutions.

22. As recommended by Root (1974) to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Washington, "Course work preparation in the area of intergroup relations, racism, and sexism needs to be added to the criteria for certification. Aspiring teachers must be able to demonstrate an ability to work in a non-racist, non-sexist manner with students and to be able to evaluate curriculum materials (p. 25)." This recommendation pertains to in-service as well as pre-service teacher training and is one that could be adopted by state departments of education.

23. Silver (1974) noted an increase in the number of female students in graduate programs for preparing educational administrators, as reported by professors of educational administration.

24. Stimpson (1973) reported 17 such courses in 1969-70, 66 in 1970-71, as itemized in Female Studies I and II edited by Carol Ahlum and Florence Howe, and an estimated 1,500 by 1972-3 (p. 43).

    Howard (1975) reported over 4,000 such courses at last count (p. 14).

25. The current Directory of Women Registered in CORPS is available from the University Council for Educational Administration, 29 West Woodruff Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

26. Information about this resource list is available from the Women's Program, American Council on Education, One DuPont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

27. Those interested in being entered on this resource list or utilizing the list to seek qualified candidates should contact Beatrix Sebastian, AASA, 1801 N. Moore Street, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

28. Information about this service is available from D. Eleanor Dolin, Executive Secretary, NCAWE, 1815 Fort Myer Drive North, Arlington, Virginia 22204.

29. Friedan, B. The feminine mystique. New York: Del Publishing Co., Inc., 1963. Millett, K. Sexual politics. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969. Greer, G. The female eunuch. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1970.

30. Ms. is published by Ms. Magazine Corp., 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Do it NOW is published by the National Organization of Women, 5 South Wabash Avenue, Suite 1615, Chicago, Illinois 60603. KNOW News is published by KNOW, Inc., P. O. Box 86031, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15221. The Spokeswoman, an independent monthly newsletter, is published at 1957 East 73rd Street, Chicago, Illinois 60649. And Comment is published by the American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education, 1 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036.

31. Berry and Shavlik (1973) listed six journals in the field of guidance and counseling alone with special issues devoted to women. Special women's issues of Phi Delta Kappan, the Saturday Review, the Educational Researcher, and the ATA Magazine have also come to the author's attention.

32. Information is available from CEPO, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

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